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Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, 000
in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

Ronald Cohen received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of 114
Wisconsin in 1960. He has taught anthropology at the University of Toronto from 1958 to 1961, at McGill University from 1961 to 1963, and from 1963 to the present at Northwestern University where he is a member of the Program of African Studies and Associate Professor of Anthropology and Political Science. He has carried out fieldwork in Nigeria and in the Mackenzie Valley, Northwest Territories, Canada. He is interested in social and political change as well as problems of theory and method in the social sciences. Professor Cohen has published papers on aspects of Kanuri society and history, Athabascan culture change, and a number of theoretical and methodological problems in anthropology.

About the Book

This case study has a clear central focus. The author shows us how the various sectors of Kanuri social life build upon and interrelate to the basic unit of Kanuri 121 128
society, the household organization. He claims the basic theory of their society is not his own but that of the Kanuri themselves as they have tried to explain their society to him. In doing so they continually refer back to the household. The household, or compound, is the basic political unit; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. The economic system is dependent upon the household, since the business of getting a living is organized within it, and households link together through their head men to form larger organizations for the produc-

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tion of goods or for trade. Family life is carried on in the household, and ways of behaving that are acceptable and necessary in Kanuri life are learned there.

The descriptive analysis of these interdependent relationships centering upon the household is far from mechanistic. Though the structural features of groupings and the modal patterns of activities are made very clear, there is a sense of immediacy in their description. Actual behavior is described and vignettes of individuals and their behaviors, relevant to various sectors of life, are included.

This case study is notable in a number of other ways, but particularly in the sense of history conveyed. In a necessarily brief but informative historical sketch the author shows us how the emirate of Bornu, established in the late fifteenth century, survived insurrection, warfare, colonialism, and even today survives within the framework of national independence as a viable social and political entity. The author ends his historical overview with these questions: "Why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times?" The case study is, in one of its dimensions, an answer to these questions.

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Stanford, California
November 1966

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Acknowledgments

The fieldwork on which this book is based has been carried out in two periods: one in 1956 and 1957 under the auspices of the Ford Foundation Area Fellowship Program, and again in the summers of 1964 and 1965 with financial help from the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the National Science Foundation of Washington, D.C. It is because of the generosity of these agencies that I have been able to develop and continue my understanding of the Kanuri people and their complex culture. Altogether I have spent over twenty-six months among the Kanuri and a number of years reading historical documents dealing with their pre-colonial kingdom in the Chad basin.

Over the years I have become indebted to a host of people who have contributed to my expanding knowledge of Bornu so that it would be impossible to give a complete list of those whose share in this book is a significant one. Professor C. W. M. Hart first encouraged and guided my work, and his approach to anthropology has colored and given direction to my own. In Nigeria, Sir Kashim Ibrahim, G.C.O.N., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., LL.B., Governor of Northern Nigeria, has through the years helped to make my visits to Bornu fruitful and intellectually exciting. The Bornu Native Authority and the Bornu Provincial Government have extended the warmest hospitality and courtesy to myself and my wife and encouraged us in our work. Their forbearance with my research and their constant willingness to cooperate has helped to make Bornu into what some of them have called "my second home." I cannot claim to know everything about Kanuri society and culture; what I have learned is due not only to the kindness of Bornu officials but to the friendship of hundreds of Kanuri who have never failed to answer my unending questions and sometimes naïve curiosity with patient explanation. Dr. and Mrs. Abraham Rosman who were also out in Bornu in 1957 carrying out field research gave invaluable aid as colleagues interested in many of the same problems. At closer range, both in Bornu during my first field trip, and later after we returned to North America in 1957, my wife has served as a constant critic and discussant of almost every fact and interpretation put forward in this book and in my other publications on Bornu. In a very real way I owe her a debt as my collaborator and fellow researcher. Finally I am indebted to Professor John Middleton and David Spain who have read and made many helpful comments on an earlier draft of this book.

R. C.

Evanston, Illinois
November 1966

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The Family and Household in Bornu

AFTER SUMMARIZING the historical background and the setting of Kanuri life, I can now proceed to analyze the society as a working, on-going whole, in other words as a process. Anthropologists generally do this by dividing the society up into what they consider to be its most significant parts. They then describe each part and try to show how these parts are related to one another, and to the functioning of a whole society. The manner in which such an analysis proceeds—what is left out, what is included, and what comes first or last—is the product of the author's "functional theory" of the society, his idea of how it works.

For Kanuri society I have chosen to start with kinship and the household as the first parts of the whole to be described and understood. First, the household is where the Kanuri themselves begin to learn of their own society and how they must act to become full-fledged participants. Secondly these parts, especially that of the household, form the basic units of Kanuri social structure such that almost all other social life in Bornu can be analyzed and understood once these particular parts are described. To start with a description of any other part of the society such as the economic or the political organization would require explanations and references to family and household life in order to make the material understandable to the reader. It is better to start the analysis at this point—that of kinship and household—then proceed to build up a picture of the society having first looked at what I consider to be its crucible, the kinship system, and its cornerstone, the household.

The Kinship System

The kinship system of any society involves three categories of behavior that may overlap one another but are always different from each other. They are as follows:

(a) Genealogical relations—the links between individuals which are based upon biological reproduction.

(b) Descent relations—the links between individuals which are based upon

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[Introductory, p.iv]

ABSTRACT

Social Structure and Acculturation among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria

by Abraham Rosman

105 The Kanuri people are the dominant element of the population of Bornu Province, in northeastern Nigeria, bordering on Lake Chad. At one time the Kanuri had a powerful state, known as the Empire of Bornu. At the time that the field research for the present study was carried out (1956-1957), they were under British colonial rule. Since the beginning of this century Kanuri culture has been changing as a result of contact with the industrial West. The present study focuses on these changes, as they have been channeled through Kanuri social structure.

• 128 Chapter I provides the ethnographic and historical background for the material which follows. Chapter II describes the general features of Kanuri culture, Chapter III describes the community of Geidam in which the study was carried out. These chapters present the broad outlines of Kanuri culture and the social structure of an urban community, in order to provide a framework for the data on acculturation.

Chapter IV presents the theoretical orientation of the acculturation study, describes the sample of informants, and presents the measures of acculturation which were used. Three hypotheses concerning the relationship between social structure and acculturation are proposed.

The data on acculturation are derived from a questionnaire-interview which was given to forty-four informants, who are representative of eight distinct social categories in the Geidam community. Chapter V presents the analysis of these data. The final chapter, Chapter VI, discusses the data in the light of the hypotheses advanced earlier, and examines some of the theoretical implications of the findings.

Forty-seven tables and four figures are presented in the text, and a glossary of Kanuri words is provided.

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122 The field research on which the present study is based was financed by a Foreign Area Training Fellowship granted by the Ford Foundation. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the Ford Foundation for enabling him to carry out the research, though he alone bears responsibility for the conclusions reached in this study.

000 A number of people at Yale University assisted the author at various stages of the research. Professor Edward M. Bruner helped in formulating the problem which served to orient the study. Professor George Peter Murdock initially acted as adviser for the dissertation. This role was later assumed by Professor Sidney W. Mintz, under whom the dissertation was completed. Professor John V. Murra read the completed manuscript. To all of these people the author expresses his thanks.

114 To the Kanuri people of Bornu Province the author owes a special debt of gratitude. Yerima Mustapha, the District Head of Geidam District, showed remarkable understanding of the author's purposes and assisted him in innumerable ways. To his many informants, and to the people of Geidam, the author expresses his thanks.

Dr. Bernice Rosman, the author's wife, shared in every step of the research, from the rigors of the field to the rigors of the dissertation. The author's debt is beyond expression.

128 Mrs. Evelyn Middleton, who typed the manuscript, has aided greatly in bringing it to its final form.

ground for the activities of groups making up the social structure, so that the social structure of the community can be seen in its larger cultural context.

In the section immediately following, an overall picture of Kanuri culture will be presented, stressing the general features of Kanuri social organization. This will be followed by a section on the community of Geidam.

Lastly, the problem which was studied will be presented. This final section will include the theoretical orientation of the study, the manner in which the data were collected, the data on acculturation with their analysis, and the implications of the findings in relation to existing theory.

tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
571 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighbor-
621 hoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
576 with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
931 ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
622 social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi-
181 tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

• 128 erally which was discussed in the previous chapter. At times,
[125] quantitative data will be presented on a sample of 44 individuals, representing various selected social categories (see further definition of this sample given in Chapter 4).

1. Farming.

42 All land belongs, in theory, to the Shehu and is distributed by Lowans through the authority given them by the Shehu. A man living in the town of Geidam has a right to land surrounding the town, should he wish to make a farm. Such land becomes his in the sense that no one else can farm there, and it is inherited
[451] by his children like other forms of property. Any man who pays the property tax (haraji) in Geidam has a right to land. A newcomer to the town who desires land to farm asks a Lowan for a
[311] plot of land. Since all farm land up to two miles from the edge of the town is farmed by those previously settled in the town, land given to newcomers is uncleared brush far from the town it-
[662] self. However, by paying a sum to the Lowan, a man may be assigned land which is much closer and therefore more desirable. Unused sites become available when people leave Geidam.

House sites come under the same provisions as farm land. If a man wishes to build a house in Geidam he must first ask the permission of the Lowan in whose ward he seeks to build his house. If he wishes to build on unoccupied land he must pay a
[436] sum to the Lowan. The sum may vary from three to ten shillings, depending on the man's means. A man can sell a house which he

634 871 555 177 565 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 76 [184] Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 [185] prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

[GEIDAM]

796 second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-
431 tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this
[565] time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away
[777] kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of
[607] the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili
796 with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the
[789] sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water stor-
[793] age pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness.
[515] On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in
particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam
reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those
[788] present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (ta-
[535] jimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in
[857] a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill
about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto
other little boys.

[782] The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumɔri Kura (great festival), Ngumɔri Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

128 In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

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128 within that community. This section, then, is a particularization of the section on social organization in the preceding chapter. It will deal with kinship in an urban community; the data on which the present discussion is based are taken from a sample of individuals (the construction of which will be discussed later) chosen from the community of Geidam. It should be considered against the more general background provided earlier.

Much of the data in this section are presented in the form of tables, wherein individuals are grouped into categories which are contrasted with each other. There are eight groupings in all, and each stands for a category within Kanury social structure which is significantly represented in the town of Geidam. At this point in the discussion, all of the categories should be readily recognizable since their roles in the community have previously been described and discussed. In the following chapter, Chapter IV, they will be considered in yet another context as the problem of acculturation will be treated in terms of categories in Kanuri social structure. At that time, the manner in which the various categories were selected, and the choice of individuals who make up the categories will be described in detail.

1. Marriage.

582 It had been mentioned earlier that boys in the small vil-
369 lages marry earlier than they do in the cities. It may be seen

125 177 sion, use, and knowledge of Western material culture; evaluations of the usefulness of such items; religious behavior; attitudes toward Western medical practices and the effectiveness of such treatment; attitudes toward traditional ways of arbitrating disputes and towards traditional forms of Kanuri generosity; attitudes toward preferred types of occupations for the individual being questioned and for his sons; attitudes toward Western education for both sons and daughters; attitudes toward marriage with women outside Kanuri culture and with acculturated women; attitudes toward behavior which should be permitted one's wife.

125 The forty-five remaining questions in the questionnaire-interview are concerned with various facets of the individual's life history. The initial twenty-five questions deal with the individual's wives and children, family of orientation and family of procreation, and his household. The information ob- 125 • 128 tained from a number of these questions provide the basis for many of the tables in the previous chapter, particularly those on kinship and household, where the sample used is that de- 125 scribed in the present sections. Many of the earlier questions provide important information on the relative positions of the groups and categories. Thus information on number of wives, whether they were kalə yaskəs or zogors, size of yal, etc. reveal a great deal about each group and category. Fifteen other questions are concerned with friendships, visiting patterns, and eating arrangements, all factors in the position of a group

[BEIDAN]

• 128 The data elicited by the questionnaire-interview form the basis of the present chapter. They will be presented in the form of tables, each of which is discussed in the text. The tables are grouped according to areas of information with which they deal. They will be presented in the following order:

Table XV.	Age distribution of the sample.
Table XVI.	Knowledge of other languages.
Table XVII.	Ability to read.
Table XVIII.	Western Material Goods: possession.
Table XIX.	Western Material Goods: knowledge about material items.
Table XX.	Western Material Goods: ideas about usefulness.
Table XXI.	Western Material Goods: comparison of horse and bicycle.
Table XXII.	Western Material Goods: cigarettes and beer.
Table XXIII.	Western Material Goods: wearing shoes and trousers.
Table XXIV.	Religious Behavior: fasting during a minor fast.
Table XXV.	Religious Behavior: wearing charms.
Table XXVI.	Western Medicine: going to a doctor; effectiveness of medicine.
Table XXVII.	Western Medicine: treatment of six diseases.
Table XXVIII.	Arbitration of disputes: before the Lowan or in court.
Table XXIX.	Charity and generosity: giving a gown to a stranger.
Table XXX.	Education: sending son or daughter to school.
Table XXXI.	Education: sending son to Koranic Malam or to school.
Table XXXII.	Desired Occupation: for self.
Table XXXIII.	Desired Occupation: choice of four occupations.
Table XXXIV.	Desired Occupation: aspirations for son.
Table XXXV.	Marriage: willingness to marry out.
Table XXXVI.	Marriage: willingness to marry an educated woman.
Table XXXVII.	Marriage: willingness to allow wife to work.

124 The entire sample of 44 individuals has a mean age of 39.55 (see Table XV), and a range from 22 to 60 years. The mean ages

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*177 • 128 Table XVIII lists the possession of various items, which have been introduced from the Industrial West, by the eight groups. However, the purchase of these items is severely limited in some of the groups by their relative poverty. A more reasonable measure would be knowledge about these items rather than mere possession, since while all groups are not equally able to obtain the various items, knowledge about their use *177 493 *565 [441] *[634] is not restricted in this manner. It can be seen in Table XIX that although the groups that own bicycles (Aristocracy, Canteen Operators and NA Malams) naturally also know how to ride them, many other individuals throughout the sample (more than one-half, in all) also possess this knowledge. In fact, four of the eight Talaka know how to ride a bicycle, although only two *177 805 have ever owned a bicycle. An even larger percentage of the sample (66 per cent) can tell time, and this knowledge is spread *[565] throughout all the groups in the sample. There are only two *[634] groups, however, where all individuals are able to tell time. These are the Aristocracy, and the NA Malams.

*177 805 *829 Knowledge of how to tell time is of itself a rather mechanical thing. Individuals who can tell time can read the hours and minutes on the face of a watch or clock. To grasp the usefulness of this knowledge is something else again. The members of the sample were therefore asked to tell what they considered the usefulness of a wrist watch to be. Their replies, which appear in Table XX, were grouped into four categories, and presented in columns A, B, C, and D. Occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

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*177 805 *829 788 helping one to know when to pray. The traditional ways of knowing the times for prayer are adequate for them.

[792] The four types of response to the question concerning the *177 805 *829 *128 usefulness of a wrist watch can be ranked as to thoroughness of understanding of its usefulness, as well as degree of acculturation. Column A indicates no knowledge and represents the least acculturated responses. Column B reveals slightly more understanding, and a greater degree of acculturation. The responses in column C all link the usefulness of knowing the time to work of a European nature. This is a somewhat more acculturated response, and it also reveals a good deal about attitudes towards European types of employment and towards the bureaucracy. All of these responses indicate in some way that the individual knows when to arrive at work, when to leave for lunch and when to return from lunch, and finally when to leave *[634] work for the day. It is understandable that five of the NA Malams, who all work for the provincial government, should have [792] offered this as one of the uses of a watch. It is interesting *[554] that two others who do not work for any governmental body, one a Koranic Malam and the other a low-status drummer, should have noted the close relation between the need to measure units of time and European or government employment. These two both responded (*c) that for one who does European work or works for the government, a watch is useful, implying at the same time that for most Kanuri (most true Kanuri?) it has no real use. The most bureaucratized answer was offered by the local

*177 805 *829 • 128 Dispenser--if someone is brought into the Dispensary with a stab wound, you write down the time he was brought in. This answer indicates that the respondent sees the use of a wrist watch solely in terms of its use in helping one to perform various bureaucratic tasks. Responses of this sort do not reveal a deeper understanding of the uses of a watch, though they do reveal an understanding of the relation between watches and aspects of Western culture and are therefore acculturated responses.

Complex ideas about the usefulness of telling the time have been noted in column D. In all there were eleven such responses, only one more than the responses in column A. Seven of these responses concern travel, and the advantages of being able to calculate rates of travel in order to determine when to leave a particular place and when to arrive at one's destination. The remaining four concern the use of synchronized time by two individuals to coordinate their activities. These responses reveal a deeper understanding of the advantages of possessing a watch. Four of the five Aristocrats offered responses of this sort, as did three of the eight Talaka; only one NA Malam answered in this fashion, and none of the Canteen Operators offered this reason.

*565 *634 [441]

*177 *829 805 *565 *554 *463 *634 In comparing the eight groups with respect to the answers presented in Table XX, several points emerge. The Aristocracy offer a number of complex responses (D). The Koranic Malams are divided, but low in the number of responses referring to prayer time (B) when compared to the sample in general. The

Canteen Operators tend to offer prayer times (B) as their typical response. The NA Malams offer reasons connected with their work (C) more often than do other groups. The Kabuna offer prayer times (B) largely. A higher proportion of the Craftsman group state that they do not know (A) than does any other group. The Talaka and the Low-status Individuals offer a variety of responses of which the most common by far is knowing of prayer times (B). Rating the four categories of response as to degree of acculturation by assigning a value of 1 to responses in column A, a value to 2 to responses in column B, a value of 3 to responses in column C, and a value of 4 to the responses in column D, one can arrive at a score for the average responses in each of the eight groups, and can thus compare their degree of acculturation with respect to this particular measure. The average ranks for the groups fall in the following order, beginning with the least acculturated:

1. Craftsmen - average response value = 1.86
2. Koranic Malams - = 2.0
3. Kabuna - = 2.0
4. Canteen Operators - = 2.13
5. Low-status Individuals - = 2.33
6. Talaka - = 2.47
7. NA Malams - = 2.58
8. Aristocracy - = 2.9

The Craftsmen, with their high proportion of "don't know" (A) responses thus are revealed as the least acculturated group in

*177 *829 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion 805 *463 *565 of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.

• 128 Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the * 177 825 *829 attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle 492 493 with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were [125] then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bicycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in Geidam, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigeful. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "If you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 272]

*829 *554 [441] *[634] cifically mention farming in addition to trade (*d) as if to accentuate their Talaka origins and their tie to the soil as the ultimate provider of sustenance. Three of the NA Malams prefer to do NA work, and one (*e) specifically states that he would like to be an Ajia (see Table XXXIII). Three Kabuna indicate a preference for the work of retainer, while one would *[463] like to be a Lowan (*g)--see Table XXXIII. Three Craftsmen chose the general category of trade, while two preferred to *[565] be craftsmen. Four Talaka chose trade, while the remaining four chose a variety of occupations (*m). The Low-status individuals divide into several categories, though two prefer to remain in the same low-status crafts which they now perform.

*128 *554 *829 *463 Column 9 lists the number of individuals in each group who chose as their desired occupation the same occupation in which they are presently engaged. This number is then expressed as the percentage of the total group. The groups may then be ranked to indicate the satisfaction of each group with its present occupation. They are ranked in the following order:

Koranic Malams - 100 per cent satisfied with their present occupation.

Canteen Operators - 100 per cent satisfied with their present occupation.

NA Malams - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Kabuna - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Low-status Individuals - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Craftsmen - 40 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Talaka - 38 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Aristocracy - 20 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

*177 ing an educated woman, whereas they are almost equally unani-
593 mous in not being willing to allow her to work. The explana-
*829 tion for this inconsistency is to be sought in the poor defini-
441 tion of their roles. It has been noted that they are a rising
*554 group, emerging as a wealthy and powerful segment of community social structure. They actively seek means to increase their prestige, and one way of doing this would be through marriage with an educated woman (particularly since many well educated young women come from aristocratic families). Still another way of increasing their prestige is to be strict about religious observance, and keeping wives secluded falls into this category of behavior. They therefore indicate that they would all be willing to marry an educated woman, but would not permit her to work as a school-teacher. What appears as an inconsistency in their behavior is explainable in terms of the nature of their roles in the social structure. In fact, it becomes possible to characterize the roles of this particular group in terms of the inconsistencies which they exhibit.

B. Age as a Variable in Acculturation.

•128 The introductory paragraphs to the present chapter pre-
*177 sented the mean age of the sample of individuals on which the study is based, and compared the means of the ages of the eight groups in the sample.[1] Two of the groups were found to vary somewhat from the sample as a whole, and the effect of relative age was considered briefly in that context. We may now return

[1] [For the age distribution of the sample, see category 116, page 250. - Analyst]

128 *177 to a consideration of age as a variable in acculturation. The acculturation measures have all been discussed so that it is now possible to examine them in relation to the ages of responding individuals.

121 *177 In terms of the theoretical orientation presented in Chapter IV, relative age of individuals would be expected to effect their degree of acculturation and the behavioral areas in which they exhibited acculturation in a general way. Age categories in any culture represent one of the universal forms of status differentiation, and age differences may be equated with status differences in Kanuri culture. Roles therefore also differ with age--younger individuals within a larger status category have different roles from older individuals within that same status category. Thus expectations and obligations of younger people differ from those of older people, and a younger person might be expected to seek to present a different "self" from an older person merely because of the difference in their ages. Much of the difference in role behavior between young and old people may be attributed to the time required to adequately learn complex roles, so that young people may be allowed much leeway in their behavior and this may be explained as due to their not yet having learned behavior appropriate to mature roles.

In the light of the differences in role between younger and older individuals postulated above, one might expect differences in acculturation. Since a basic assumption throughout has been that acculturation proceeds more rapidly in segments of

121 the acculturating society which interact with agents of contact
177 in the course of the performance of their normal roles, it can be predicted that the freedom of behavior permitted to younger people would result in more exploratory behavior on their part and greater interaction with agents of Western culture. This increased contact in turn would result in a greater degree of acculturation in certain behavioral areas. However, an interesting question arises here. Does the acculturated behavior of younger people persist as they grow older, or does their increasing age require them to give up acculturated sorts of behavior in favor of traditional behavior which is more appropriate to older status? Some of the indices of acculturation noted in younger people may become sources of acculturation throughout the culture, while others may represent temporary phases in the life-cycle which drop out in later years.

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177 In order to examine the effect of age on acculturation, the individuals making up the sample were divided into two groups. The younger group is made up of individuals below the median age for the entire sample. There are 23 individuals in this group, and their ages range from 22 to 40. The older group is made up of individuals above the median age, and their ages range from 41 to 60. There are only 21 individuals in the older group (compared with 23 in the younger), because the frequency at the median did not permit an even split. These two groups were then compared as to degree of acculturation for the thirty acculturation measures which have already been described in order

128 *177 to determine in which behavioral areas the younger group proved to be the more acculturated.

*177 561 128 Table XXXVIII presents 15 items in which the younger group was more acculturated than the older. The responses of members of the older group may be compared with those of the younger group by examining columns a and b. Table XXXIX lists 8 items in which little or no difference was detected between the two groups. Examining each of the items in Table XXXVIII, it is *177 561 apparent that one half involve Western material goods. Item 1: more young men own watches and bicycles; more older men own horses. Item 2: more young men can ride a bicycle and can tell time. Item 3: both young and old say that a horse is more useful than a bicycle, but of those who say "bicycle" there are more young than old. Item 4: more young men would rather own a bicycle than a horse, while the older group would rather own a horse. This is a response which well might shift with age. When this same group of young men grows older, might they not then prefer to own a horse? Item 5: more young men smoke cigarettes and drink beer than do the older men. This type of behavior might also drop out with increasing age. Item 6: more young men have European shoes; more old men state that they would not wear them. Item 7: only members of the young group have European-style trousers; most of the older group state that they would refuse to wear them. It is clear that in the area of behavior involving Western material goods, and attitudes towards these things, the younger group appears to be the more

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 334]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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riage partner. On the other hand, no differences were detected in areas involving important traditional Kanuri values: religious behavior, charity, arbitration of disputes, education of children, and willingness to permit a wife to work.

C. Degree of Acculturation of the Eight Groups and Categories.

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Having considered each of the acculturation measures in turn, and having discussed the relative acculturation of each group with respect to that measure, it is appropriate now to consider each of the eight groups and categories in turn, examining the behavioral areas in which that group demonstrated a high degree of acculturation when compared to the other groups as well as the behavioral areas in which that group proved to be less acculturated than the others.

The method adopted for the presentation of each group so that it might be compared with the other seven groups, was to take all the measures of acculturation used in the study, of which there were forty-three (that is, forty-three distinct questions), and to give the proportion of acculturated responses on all forty-three questions for each group in turn. However, in order to judge how each group compared with the total sample, it was necessary to compare the proportion of acculturated responses in each individual group with the proportion of acculturated responses in the entire sample for each question. Thus the proportion of acculturated responses in the entire sample was considered as a baseline, from which each of the eight

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groups deviated--some in the direction of greater acculturation (i.e., a higher proportion of acculturated responses), others in the direction of conservatism (i.e., a smaller proportion of acculturated responses).

These deviations have been presented in the form of graphs, one for each of the eight groups, so that one can readily see the "acculturation profile" of each group, as it were. The zero point on the graph represents the baseline, the proportion of acculturated responses for the entire sample for each question. A higher percentage of acculturated responses for a given group is indicated by a black bar extending to the right from the base line; a lower percentage of acculturated responses for a given group (compared to the entire sample) is indicated by a black bar extending to the left. For example: question 1 measures the percentage of individuals in each group who speak Hausa (Table XVI, above). We note that 18 individuals in the sample speak Hausa; 17 do not; 9 individuals state that they speak a little Hausa. Individuals who said that they speak a little Hausa were not included entirely with either acculturated or unacculturated responses, but were divided equally into both (this was the procedure adopted throughout for intermediary responses). Thus, according to this method of calculation, 51 per cent of the sample speak Hausa. Turning now to the eight groups individually, 4 of the 5 members of the Aristocracy (80 per cent) speak Hausa. The difference between 51 per cent and 80 per cent represents the deviation between this group and the

*177 entire sample, and is indicated in question 1, Teble XL by
• 128 a black bar extending to the value of 29. The direction is towards greater acculturation as the percentage in the group of Aristocracy exceeds that of the entire sample. Only one of 3 Koranic Malams (33 per cent) speaks Hausa, therefore the black bar extends to 18 (51-33) in the direction of unacculturated responses in the first item of their acculturation profile (Table XLI). And so on for each of the eight groups.

The forth-three questions used to construct the profile have been grouped to present behavioral areas. Several of these questions are not acculturation measures at all, but have been included nevertheless for comparative purposes. Thus, knowledge of other languages (3), ability to write in Arabic script (5), and possession of a horse (10) are not to be considered as indices of acculturation when it appears that a high proportion of individuals in any group exhibit these responses. However, such responses (possession of a horse, for example) do shed light on other responses (possession of a bicycle).

One item, ideas about the usefulness of a wrist watch (Table XX), required a different scoring of responses since each type of response had to be given a score as to degree of acculturation--responses in column A were scored 0; those in column B were scored 1; those in column c were scored 2; and those in column D were scored 3. Item 21, concerning the wearing of charms, was broken in three categories: those who wore many charms, those who wore a few, and those who wore charms only

*177 when traveling. One item discussed in the text, occupations
• 128 in which individuals wish to be engaged (Table XXXII), could not be included in the acculturation profiles as the answers to that question did not permit expression as simple percentages.

121 Several points emerge clearly from a consideration of the
*177 acculturation profiles. First of all, it is apparent that some groups are generally more acculturated than other groups--most of their responses fall within the acculturated column. Others are generally unacculturated and their responses cluster in the unacculturated column. Secondly, in no group do we find that all responses, in every behavioral area, are acculturated or unacculturated. Each group has behavioral areas in which it appears most acculturated, others in which it is close to the entire sample, and still others in which it appears unacculturated. Finally, from a comparison of the eight acculturation profiles, one can derive a measure of the relative stability of
[128] each group. A stable group is determined by the consistency of responses. A group would be said to be stable when (a) the items within any one behavioral area are consistently in one direction, and (b) the size of the differences between acculturated and unacculturated responses is not very great.

*177 1. Aristocracy. The acculturation profile of the Aris-
565 tocracy is presented in Table XL. The Aristocracy are obviously an acculturated group on the whole, as almost all of their responses fall on the acculturated side of the baseline. In

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184 of another anthropologist, Mr. A. Rosman, who spent a large part of his field work time in the town of Geidam. Periodic conversations with Mr. Rosman, plus the exchange of visists and information contributed enormously to our understanding of the generality of some Kanuri traits as against the local peculiarities of others.

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[127] During the final three months of field work, the writer and his wife moved into the capital and devoted part of the time to an analysis of all available government records covering the colonial period in the area. Ethnographic work at the court of the Shehu and in Maiduguri as a whole was carried on at the same time. However, it is painfully evident that much more work in the capital, using the methods of urban sociology as well as anthropology, is needed to complete a study which the present work has only begun.

• 128 The work is in three parts. The first part introduces the people and the locality giving pertinent information of population, geography and ecology. Also included in this section is an historical sketch of the pre-British period as well as an account of the significant changes introduced by the colonial era.

The second part deals with interpersonal relations. Here kinship behaviour norms are related to social interaction in the community at large, and these are described as they operate in the local residence groups. Marriage relations illustrate how the norms of behaviour operate between groups and individuals in the husband-wife relationship. The life cycle material then documents the manner in which individuals are recruited into and live within the small and large scale social structures of the society.

The third part deals with the wider scaled forms of social life. Stratification by various status dimensions is discussed and it

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128 is shown how these link together to form the segmentation of society into a two class system. Along with this description, changes and potential changes in the status system are pointed out. Political organization is then discussed from the point of view of the distribution of power and authority throughout the society as a whole. Changes produced by colonialism and Western contact in general are described and the adjustments to these are analyzed.

Finally, the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services in a changing culture are discussed and analyzed in order to show how the standard of living is related to the operation of Kanuri social structure. In addition, the distributive system is shown to be intimately related to other forms of social organization in the society as a whole.

The last chapter summarizes the findings and gives an analysis of the changes occurring in the Bornu today. This allows for a tentative statement concerning the future of the present social structure.

104 In the typed text, the letter ɔ is the phonetic ɔ and is pronounced as the oo in look or cook.

113 References to anthropological journals are as follows:

AA - American Anthropologist

SWJ - Southwest Journal of Anthropology

JRAI - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Chapter IV

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Kinship and Interpersonal Relations

This chapter describes the forms of behaviour which pattern the relationships of people in their day to day lives in Bornu. The model for these patterns is the norm of behaviour governing kinship relations. It should be noted that this is not a theoretical statement but an empirical one which the evidence of this chapter, and those to follow, attempts to bear out.

Kinship Terminology (1)

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In the Kanuri language kinship is referred to as dur. This is a general term that includes ego's father's and mother's consanguinal relations. The system is bilateral in the sense that ego recognizes his descent from, and relation to, two descent systems reckoned through the father and mother of his own father and mother. Thus, ego has his Fa-Mo and Mo-Fa as members of his consanguinal kin group. Dur bube (kin of the blood) refers to father's relatives, and dur chambe (kin of the milk) is the term for mother's relatives.

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The terminology is generational in the sense that all generation levels can be distinguished and classificatory in the sense that one or two terms serve to delineate all of ego's relations at any one generation level, except the first ascendant. At the first ascendant generation parent terms are extended to parents' siblings with suffixes added to delineate junior and senior and there are separate terms for Mo-Bro and Fa-Sis.

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Affinal relations are divided into two categories. The first term, kasai (senior in-laws) refers to ego's spouses's relatives

(1) See the appendix to this chapter for kinship diagrams and a table of Kinship terminology.

601 available terminology which distinguishes their actual biological relationship refer back to relatives they have in common when describing or referring to the relationship, pointing out (if necessary) that their mothers' or fathers' are not the same person. This is part of a more general and commonly utilised rule of reference when speaking of kinship relations. In order to specify exactly what relationship exists between himself and some other person an individual most often gives the nearest common relative and then explains his own and the other person's relationship to the common relative. Thus an informant explains that he and his cross or parallel cousin have kakande tile (the same grandparent).

Behaviour Norms

602 The behaviour norms associated with the kinship organisation are classified into four overlapping categories. In Kanuri these are called mungu (shame or shame-avoidance), barzum (respect or discipline-respect), suli (joking) and sumkam (friendship or fondness). Table I summarises the manner in which these norms are distributed among three classes each of consanguinal and affinal kin. (1)

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(1) The information was obtained from 44 Kanuri males of Maiduguri, ranging across all class strata but more heavily representative of the lower classes. They responded to questions about their behaviour towards 33 different kin relations. The interviewer was instructed to ask subjects how they acted towards each of the relatives in question. In the opinion of the field assistant this was in fact the major consideration in the responses given to his questions. This seems to be corroborated when the questionnaire material is compared to qualitative data gathered independently. Other indications that the real rather than ideal culture is being reported are given by the blanks in the original notebooks when informants refused to answer. Their reasons for not responding were written down by the field assistant. In all cases, refusals were due to the subjects not having that particular relative. This supports the notion that informants were responding in reference to their actual behaviour towards the relative being asked about. However, such conclusions must not be taken too far for it is inconceivable that ideal patterns of behaviour had no effect on the responses of

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TABLE I

Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Response to the Category*

**	Par. & Par-Coll	Ego's Coll	G/Par & G/G/Par	Affines of Par-Coll	Senior in-laws	Junior in-laws
shame	48.8	5.8	0	26.1	89.8	14.6
respect	82.4	33.8	14.9	97.5	96.4	42.1
joking	1.9	2.4	100.0	0	2.3	66.0
friendship	12.9	76.4	0	7.0	16.6	26.6
total number of responses	262	233	87	157	168	233

* The figures are percentages of the total response; thus 48.8% of the 262 responses given to parents and parents' collaterals were nungu (shame). They have been reduced to percentages in order to make them comparable with other columns in which total responses add up to different numbers.

** Par. = Parents; Coll. = Collaterals.

Shame (nungu)

Nungu is a general category of behaviour which describes relationships that are restricted in some way by rule. Under this general rubric there are two distinct kinds of action which hold for two different categories of relatives. Firstly, shame-avoidance

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informants, especially in the cases of extreme aberrancy (if any such existed). Consequently in order to be as conservative as possible, it would be wise to conclude that the questionnaire material represents an attempt to obtain a picture of real kinship behaviour, which has most likely had its sharply deviant content rounded off by the ideal patterns of the culture.

joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

The friendship and/or fondness relationships include those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalised in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the namesake attribute of the same relationship. Because of

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585 the receipt of gifts from friends and relatives. Secondly, within this overall expense there is the bridewealth itself. Thus when considering marriage in Bornu it is necessary to distinguish between the capital outlay made for "taking" a woman, (1) and the total capital outlay for initiating and going through with a marriage proceeding. A Kanuri male can usually recall the exact figure of his bridewealth for most of his past marriages, but has some difficulty in remembering the entire marriage cost of all but the most recent of his nuptials.

[128] Rather than abstract out bits and pieces of the events of the marriage costs it will be more comprehensible to give a brief description of the payments made in connection with marriage inception in the chronological order of their occurrence.

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584 In the case of a virgin marriage, negotiations are initiated through a gift called the kwororam (the asking-a-question fee or gift). This gift is given most commonly by an intermediary for the husband to the luwali (guardian) as a gift to the girl's mother and/or senior female relatives. Included may often be a small gift for the girl herself. Information varies as to the amount of kwororam. Some felt that it should be fairly small, running from one to two pounds in cash value for the soap, cloth, pomade, perfume and other female sundries of which it was made up. But the amount is indefinite and there is room for haggling. One informant reported being told by a young girl's luwali that although he was certainly the favoured suitor another man of higher rank had been offering a slightly higher bridewealth payment. The anxious suitor was

[192] [595] (1) The Kanuri never use the verb "to buy" when referring to marriage, substituting instead the verb "to take". This was explained as being a necessary distinction in the old days when concubines could be bought in the markets, while wives were always married, i.e. "taken".

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five to six miles from the other. Magumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingowa has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among 78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

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Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it [184] is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society.

593 In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his granaries, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

Chapter VII

Social Stratification

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The material on Kanuri interpersonal relations has been presented in order to depict and examine some of the primary modes of social interaction in the society. The present chapter and those to follow will attempt to tie together the foregoing discussion of interpersonal relations with the historical material presented earlier, by indicating the overall organizational framework within which this social and historical experience has been carried on. In order to do this, it is necessary to be more explicit about what has up until this point been implicit concerning stratification and its manifestations in Bornu.

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As a working definition it is to be understood in the following discussion that social stratification refers to a system of agreed upon rankings of persons, whereby statuses are accorded differential values along some dimension of judgment such as power, occupation, birth or achievement. When there is enough differentiation among various groups in the society along any of these dimensions, so that one group persists in its relations to other groups in its recognized possession of any of these qualities, then the society may be said to be stratified. Social mobility consists of the modes of behaviour necessary for movement from one position to another along any of the dimensions which go to make up the constituents of stratification in the society. It should be noticed that in this sense there is no such thing as an "unstratified" society since all social organizations have some persistent differentiation of statuses even if it is only on the bases of age and sex. That is to say, using this definition there is no basic dichotomy between stratified and unstratified societies, but rather a difference in degree

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829 eighteen tribes (including "Europeans") on a printed sheet, using the following instructions, which were given in Kanuri.(1)

(1) Check the sheet as I read it through aloud and make sure you can all understand the printing. Only students who can read and speak Kanuri should take this test. Are there any questions about the printing of the words?

(2) If Allah were to give you all the power in the world to do anything you wished, from which of the following tribes (later occupations) listed on the sheet would you most like to obtain a fero (a virgin bride) for your wife? Make a mark (1) on the sheet beside that tribe, the tribe you would like second best, mark (2) and so on.

(3) You must choose all the tribes, not only the ones you like.

(4) You should also remember that when you put a very high number beside the tribe (or occupation) this means that you are saying that you really do not like this tribe (or occupation) at all, in fact you dislike it.

Since it is a Kanuri practice to rate people as "number one" or "number two" in terms of his position along some dimension such as political power, scholarly learning, etc., this type of rank ordering in data collection seemed to be more congruent with traditional modes of evaluation rather than other statistical devices which are commonly used for the same purpose, such as paired comparisons or the rating of judgements on some scale made up by the researcher. The results are presented in the table below.

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[128] It should be noted that the arrangement of choices is quite similar to that discussed earlier, the data for which was derived from field interviews with adult informants. Two Muslim groups, the Tubo and more strongly the Tuareg, are ranked low. This can be accounted for by their historical relation to the Kanuri as raiders and warring tribes,

(1) The questionnaire was administered by Kanuri teachers in the classrooms. Three European teachers were replaced by three Kanuri-speaking ones. These included the writer, his wife, and Mrs. A. Rosman. All participating Kanuri teachers took "dry runs" of the test themselves in an instruction session before giving it to their students.

[Text continues on p. 195]

TABLE V

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Tribal Choices (Social Distance) of Urban Kanuri Schoolboys (aged 13-19)

Ordinal *	Choice Cardinal	Tribe	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Remarks
I (1-3)	1	Arab	3.24	1.73	Rich traders, people of the Koran. Considered to be good-looking. Own-tribe.
	2	Kanuri	3.49	2.01	
II (4-6)	3	Europeans	3.89	2.17	The highest political authority
	4	Shuwa	4.21	1.95	Beautiful women, Arabic-speaking, Muslims, acculturate easily.
	5	Hausa	4.45	1.95	A Muslim Emirate, much historical contact
III (7-9)	6	Fulani	6.57	2.24	Muslims, nomads, sometimes good, sometimes bad relations.
	7	Yoruba	8.60	2.44	Part Muslim, not much contact with this group.
IV (10-12)	8	Babur	9.66	2.65	Part Muslim, some contact, increasing today.
	9	Bolewa	9.94	2.63	Part Muslim, some contacts
	10	Kanembu	10.03	2.96	Muslim, but raided the Kanuri in the past. Some acculturation.
	11	Mandara	10.85	2.58	Pagan, very little contact
	12	Tubo	11.70	3.00	Muslim, raided the Kanuri until quite recently
	13	Magari	11.90	2.46	Pagan, very little contact socially
	14	Ibo	12.30	2.88	Christian-Pagan, contact as a separate ethnic group in cities.
V (13-15)	15	Tuareg	13.75	2.07	Muslim, much feared for their raiding
	16	Tiv	14.08	2.16	Pagans, known to be naked, very little contact.
VI (16-18)	17	Banana	15.69	1.75	Both groups are pagan, many of whom live as a minority group
	18	Gwoza	16.34	1.84	among the Kanuri as labourers and brewers of beer

* The Ordinal choices in Roman numerals I-VI are calculated from categories of mean choices; e.g. I-1 to 3, II - 4 to 6, III 7 to 9, etc.

571 aspire to higher positions in the Bornu political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

125 463 554 In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational status among the young western educated group, the senior primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 55 occupations using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high position given to such status positions as Shehu and Wasiri indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered in the Kanuri language.

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463 554 184 Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7, while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[Text continues on p. 203]

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3: Cohen E-4.5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

TABLE VI

Occupational Choices of Maiduguri School Boys *

School:	Senior Primary (younger)			Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
1	District Officer	6.99	5.3	1	Shehu of Bornu	5.21	4.7
2	Engineer **	8.27	5.9	2	District Officer	6.03	5.0
3	Medical Officer	8.42	7.2	3	Waziri of Bornu	7.15	5.2
4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	8.57	5.0	4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	7.72	4.4
5	Shehu of Bornu	8.60	7.0	5	Government Service	9.21	5.4
6	Agricultural Officer	8.98	6.6	6	Koranic Mallam	9.26	9.4
7	Government Service	10.64	6.2	7	Agric. Officer	10.66	6.7
8	Waziri of Bornu	10.80	7.2	8	N.A.	12.06	6.2
9	N.A.	13.52	6.3	9	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	12.19	5.8
10	Bank manager	14.51	7.5	10	Medical officer	12.19	6.2
11	Company (European) manager	15.95	7.4	11	District Head	13.69	5.3
12	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	16.31	7.4	12	Alkalai (judge)	17.02	9.3
13	Radio Announcer	16.62	8.2	13	Kaigama (a D.H. today) traditional title	17.88	7.9
14	Company (European) clerk	17.15	6.0	14	Bank clerk	18.40	8.1
15	Alkalai (judge)	17.18	7.5	15	Engineer	18.51	9.2
16	Bank clerk	18.70	7.5	16	Company (European) clerk	19.71	6.2
17	Koranic mallam	19.31	9.2	17	Bank manager	20.10	9.3
18	District Head	20.07	8.6	18	Radio announcer	20.76	7.6
19	Journalist	20.20	7.3	19	Farmer	20.97	9.4
20	Mechanic	20.25	8.9	20	Company (European) manager	21.70	8.3
21	N.A. councillor	22.90	8.8	21	Journalist	21.76	7.4
22	Kaigama	24.54	9.5	22	Owner of retail store	22.65	5.9

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School:	Senior Primary (younger)			Secondary (elder)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
23	Truck driver	24.96	7.2	23	Trader(with credit from European company)	22.73	8.0
24	Truck owner	25.25	9.5	24	Village Head	23.94	7.3
25	Owner of retail store	26.53	9.0	25	Nurse (male)	24.45	10.4
26	Nurse (male)	26.86	8.5	26	Hotel (Bar) owner	25.57	6.7
27	Trader (with credit from European company)	27.08	8.9	27	Truck driver	25.93	7.3
28	Village Head	27.75	7.1	28	Mechanic	27.77	9.8
29	Carpenter	28.30	8.9	29	Trader	29.49	10.9
30	Building contractor	28.80	11.1	30	N.A. councillor	29.61	9.4
31	Hotel (Bar) owner	29.84	8.6	31	Truck owner	30.68	9.5
32	Farmer	30.21	10.5	32	Kachella Shehube (traditional title) no job today	31.88	10.1
33	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.51	6.8	33	Building contractor	31.90	9.6
34	Hunter	34.29	8.4	34	Carpenter	31.94	7.8
35	Small retailer at roadside table	35.29	6.9	35	Tailor (on sewing machine)	32.34	7.6
36	Hamlet head	35.82	7.1	36	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.91	9.2
37	Kachella Shehube	35.82	10.4	37	Hamlet head	33.46	7.3
38	Blacksmith	35.92	7.7	38	Small retainer at roadside table	33.66	6.8
39	Trader	36.20	9,4	39	Mud house builder	34.82	9.4
40	Tailor (on sewing machine)	36.55	7.8	40	Charm seller	37.52	8.8
41	Shoemaker	36.85	8.4	41	Horsedservant	38.62	6.1
42	Horsed servant	38.16	7.5	42	Hunter	38.88	7.4
43	Mud house builder	38.70	7.6	43	Kola nut seller	38.90	6.3
44	Hat maker	40.33	7.0	44	Shoemaker	39.86	6.8
45	Kola nut seller	40.51	6.0	45	Hat maker	40.00	6.6

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School:	Senior Primary (younger)			Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
46	Weaver	41.54	9.4	46	Shehu's slave	41.03	9.1
47	Petty broker	41.98	7.2	47	Labourer	41.54	5.9
48	Calabash maker	42.74	7.0	48	Blacksmith	42.05	8.5
49	Barber	42.95	6.0	49	Barber	42.15	6.1
50	Charm seller	43.27	8.9	50	Weaver	42.44	6.9
51	Shehu's slave	43.81	8.0	51	Calabash maker	44.03	6.5
52	Labourer	44.02	6.4	52	Petty broker	45.15	6.5
53	Butcher	45.04	6.1	53	Drummer-entertainer	47.08	5.6
54	Drummer-entertainer	47.23	6.8	54	Butcher	47.33	5.5
55	Moneylender	48.74	6.2	55	Moneylender	47.96	7.0
N - 83; Mean Average Deviation 7.7				N - 67; Mean Average Deviation 7.4			

* Using Spearman's rank order correlation (Rho) on the cardinal choices, the younger and older boys show a correlation of .90 in the ordering of the 55 occupations. (See Siegel, S. Nonparametric Statistics, (1956) pp.202-210).

** The week before the test was administered an engineer spoke to the younger boys on the possibilities of future careers in engineering.

St Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MSI4 Kanuri MSI4

178 463 554 [184] ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In their choice of Kanuric mallam the older boys put that status in 6th place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

128 463 554 For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

463 554 [171] It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers[1] that young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

(1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Combaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanization in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

Chapter IX

The Economic Life

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For purposes of consumption and production the basic unit among the Kanuri is the household group consisting of a man, his wife or wives, and their children. Since the external and internal social relations of household groups has formed a major part of the study up to this point these data are omitted from the present discussion. This allows us to deal with the "bare bones" of economic activity and to ask questions about the patterns of consumption, production and distribution of goods and services. Where economic activities are set into heretofore unmentioned forms of social organization such as occurs in the distributive sector, then these structures are described and related to the economic activity being analysed.

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For purposes of the present analysis, consumption is operationally equated with all behaviour pertaining to those things acquired through the expenditure of capital resources as these are known to the Kanuri; production refers to those activities from which income is derived in cash and kind, excluding trade; and distribution includes those activities by which the movement of goods and services is accomplished from producers to consumers.

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It should be noted here that this classification is an arbitrary one in terms of Bornu culture. To the Kanuri, consumption comes under the linguistic rubric of awo manyen (things we need), while production and distribution are lumped together as sanya (occupations). Where an individual has two occupations such as farmer and craftsman, or farmer and trader, he most often reports his non-farming activity as his sanya.

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Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant

12 in choosing households.(1) An attempt was made, however, to obtain some degree of representativeness of the Bornu rural economy. Thus the budgets range from that of a single young man, just barely supporting himself in food and clothing, to the expenditures (not income) of a District Chief.

128 Before moving on to a detailed analysis of Kanuri production, consumption and distribution, it is necessary to give a brief outline of 592 Kanuri economic activities. The household group is the basic economic unit. This group is a nuclear or polygynous family living sometimes in a compound, at other times forming part of a larger compound. Its economic independence of other units depends upon whether or not it is a part of a larger extended household organization. But whether or not this is the case, the family unit under its male head maintains its own farmland, engages in its own dry season work, owns its own tools, animals, cooks its own food, and is treated as a taxable unit by the local political leaders.

462 592 Within the household, women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm (unless they are in seclusion), raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound, and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade. The major contribution of women to the household is their labour in cooking [434] and help on the farm. Income derived from the sale of garden produce or the sale of cooked foods are considered to belong to the woman herself.

[114] (1) For experimental validation of the reliability of this method see:
(a) Honigman, J. and I. Sampling Reliability in Ethnological Field Work, SJA, Vol. 11, (1955) pp. 282-287.
(b) Honigman, J.J. and Carrera, R., Another Experiment in Sample Reliability, SJA, Vol. 13, (1957) pp. 99-102.

241 their surplus crop at the local markets.
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Although not exact, because of the exclusion of non-cultivators from the sample, some measure of the variation in crop production is shown in the following table of average productivity among the cultivators of the farm survey.(1)

TABLE XI

Table of Average (calculated) Yields for Seventy-five Cultivators

Occupation	Millet (bags, threshed)ϕ	Groundnuts (bags, decorticated)ϕ
Farmers	22	9
Craftsmen	17	5
Traders	7	4
Political and Religious Specialists	5	2

ϕ One bag of threshed millet, average weight - 190 lbs.
ϕ One bag of decorticated groundnuts, average weight - 200 lbs.

Increases or decreases in production from previous years were reported by 24 (32%) of the 75 cultivators. The following are the reasons given for this variation:

TABLE XII

	N
1) Increase or decrease in number of wives	8
2) Other activities interrupted farm work during the growing and harvest season	7
3) Sickness	6
4) More help in the compound (male)	1
5) Soil depleted	1
6) Damage by smut	1
Total:	24

Thus increase or decrease in number of wives, non-farming activities, and sickness during the growing season seem to be the larg-

[128]

(1) These figures are constructed from the acreage of each farmer, multiplied by the average yield per acre in the sample. Reported yield figures on millet (not groundnuts) were so at variance with calculated yield that their reliability is extremely questionable. This may not be due entirely to deliberate falsification by respondents, since they were asked to estimate yields in bags, whereas for the most part this crop is stored in large underground pits, or above-ground storage shelters.

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TABLE XIV

Table of Average Non-agricultural Income for 75 Cultivators #

Occupation	Annual income from non-agricultural pursuits (pounds sterling)	% of total annual income in cash and kind
Farmers	0	0
Craftsmen	31	43
Traders	44	67
Political and Religious Specialists	55	84

[128]

These annual figures are constructed from estimates made by each respondant in answer to questions concerning his earnings per week, (a) in the dry season, (b) in the wet season. The percentages are calculated by adding the figures in this table to those obtained for crop production after converting crop figures to cash values.

Increase or decreases in income from non-agricultural pursuits were reported by 26 (34%) of the sample. The reasons given for such changes are shown below.

TABLE XV

loss or gain of tada njima per household	16
sickness	3
better or worse income from membership in an extended household organization	2
loss or gain in wives	2
raise in salary (N.A.)	1
a new wholesale source or loss of an old one	3
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The table on income indicates what degree of specialization away from sedentary agriculture various segments of the Kanuri population have achieved. Craft workers, it should be noted, are slightly more dependant upon agriculture than craft work, while trader, political and religious specialists are much more dependent upon non-agricultural activities for their incomes. This means that the crop producers

434 through bad debts or begging then, as he said, 10/- would be like 12/-, or perhaps as much as 14/- (he rejected 15/- as too high, 11/- as too low). That is to say, about 30% of his craft income from meat sales is lost through bad debts and the nature of Kanuri social relations, wherein property differentials are noticed, and giving of property by its owner validates the differential. Because Mala Bukar is a relatively well-off man (for Hagumeri) he must, unless he wishes to be considered miserly, mean and unsociable, give away some of his wealth in order to maintain the status he has achieved through its possession.

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Consumption

511 In order to obtain a comparative index of living standards
• 128 for the Kanuri in terms of western measures, the consumption data in the following section are translated into money values calculated on the basis of the average household size in the sample survey of cultivators. Although this translation into western equivalents is a constructed figure, it gives a more precise definition to consumption practices than a merely qualitative description.

Food

264 For the peasant population, meals are customarily taken twice a day. A man, his sons past puberty, other male compound members, and possibly other male neighbours eat once in the morning, usually between 8 and 9 a.m. (lashi) and once in the evening again between 8 and 9 p.m. (bulta). Young children may or may not eat with the male
262 head, but usually do so if he is alone. The two main meals consist of
264 millet flour (penisetum typhoideum) made into porridge or dumplings (buri argumbe) over which soup is poured, containing vegetables, fish or meat, groundnut-oil, and salt, as well as other condiments, especially red peppers. Occasional meals or snacks are taken during markets

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

[P. 21]

The Success that Failed: An Experiment in Culture Change in Africa

By RONALD COHEN*

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The economic and political development going on at this moment in the non-European areas of the globe is one of the truly monumental social revolutions in man's history, ranking in importance with both the neolithic and the urban 'revolutions' of the past. By the end of the present century, the standards of living of about two-thirds of the world's population will very likely have risen between five and ten times present level. The educational, political, religious, and social changes which will in all probability accompany this revolution are almost staggering to the imagination. However, that it is taking place is a simple fact.

At the core of this development are the changes and innovations in basic economic activities in the every day lives of people the world over, for these hum-drum practices are the foundation stones upon which higher living standards are built. Central planning, financial and technical assistance, and political policies, all make crucial contributions to economic development. However the full measure of cultural changes, and in this case technological innovation, requires the painstaking description and analysis which is the hallmark of anthropological research techniques. Like other social sciences, anthropology uses the data of man's social life for its empirical basis. But unlike other social scientists, the anthropologist observes the data of the human experience through his intimate face-to-face contact with the people from day to day throughout his field

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